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The urgency of work and the time of scientific publication

The path of preprint

Roseli Bregantin Barbosa
(Organizadora)

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PREFACE

Preprint as an academic publication

The book “The urgency of work and the time of scientific publication, the path of preprint” was born at a time of increasing demand from academia and society for greater access to the process of building knowledge and agility in the publication of consolidated scientific knowledge. To a large extent, it represents the result of the experience of a Brazilian researcher in training for an international PhD in a visit to Portugal during a Covid-19 lockdown. The guiding thread of the collection that makes up this book is the deregulation of work, remote work and sex work, directly linked to the work platform phenomenon. In these articles, several issues and some relevant results for research in the field of work and scientific research are presented in English (translations from Portuguese).

In the face of the rapid changes that occurred at the beginning of 2020, and that are still occurring due to the ongoing pandemic, society calls for quick scientific responses. However, researchers must deal with the slowness of the analysis and selection procedure in publishing their research in specialized scientific journals and magazines, in addition to the serious difficulties imposed on their daily routines due to health protocols.

The pandemic posed, among so many challenges, the questioning of the canonical form of publication, the procedures of which confront the need for quick responses of scientific production, similar to the dissemination of experimental studies. Preprint seems to emerge as a means of responding to society, at the speed that social changes demand, and, more than that, it proves to be an effective methodological tool in the development of academic writing and in broadening the debate among researchers interested in the same theme. It is especially important because it allows the same article to be published in multiple languages and opens up a broader debate.

Excellence in scientific research depends on good academic writing and the evolution in academic writing is achieved through the act of writing and rewriting. When poorly written, excellent research can be wasted. But, how do we know if we are writing well? Only those who can make themselves understood through writing know how to write well, and this is only possible when the text is read. Being read before being published is essential to develop good writing skills. In academia it is possible to be read in face-to-face assessments, research groups, seminars and congresses, however, these readings have limited access to those registered, or to participants.

Preprint increases access to academic reading by making the texts relating to ongoing research available to a greater number of researchers and interested parties. These papers can receive criticism, suggestions and changes at any time, and have guaranteed registration in the DOI system, which protects them against plagiarism.

Is preprint a platform for scientific publication? It might be. However, as it is not about providing onerous services and is not aimed at profit, this platform does not offer the harms of the already known work platforms, accused of overexploitation of work. The preprint platform, on the contrary, offers subsidies to the work of publishers of scientific publication vehicles, providing them with one more selection criterion, the impact of research.

The article “Covid-19 and doctoral research in Brazil and Portugal: who pays the bill for isolation and remote work in research?” which closes this collection, was published in Fennia journal, from Finland, and is the result of theoretical and methodological debates raised in the articles made available in pre-printed format, on a specialized platform. The publication of this article in an international scientific vehicle of excellence confirms that preprint is a valid methodological tool.

As the author’s advisor and co-author of one of the preprints published here, I recommend reading the articles contained in this collection. Each of them brings useful experiences, information and analysis, both for the academic community and for society in general - since this tool can also be used in the development of several projects, mainly in the social area.

Maria Tarcisa Silva Bega[1]

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INTRODUCTION

This book is the result of a PhD internship at ICS-ULisboa, in the city of Lisbon, Portugal – with a CAPES/Print scholarship. It provides an experience of international research in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic in the first half of 2020 and reflects, to a certain extent, my experiences during the period as a PhD student in Sociology at UFPR, (Brazil) and ICS-ULisboa (Portugal), and as a Masters student in Law at UFDP (Porto, Portugal).

Research carried out in one of the most vulnerable sectors of work during a pandemic, sex work, provided valuable experience that propelled me into finding solutions for the gap between the time of changes at work, and the time of research and publication.

During this international internship, I had the opportunity to try out a methodological tool for academic production, preprint, which consists of publishing texts on a specialized platform, on the Internet, which can receive criticism and notes from other researchers on the subject. Preprint means that the text has not undergone peer review prior to being published, the traditional path of texts in the scientific community. Preprint reverses this order, first the text is published, and then it receives the evaluations of readers and results of the analysis of impact on the platform. A high-impact preprint, which reaches many researchers on the subject, from the point of view of knowledge, is no less relevant than an article submitted to reviewers of a journal, magazine, or publisher, which is sometimes read only by those who already know about the research.

I used the Even3 platform to post texts in English – translations of publications in Portuguese and original texts. This favors reaching the widest possible audience of researchers (due to the reach of the English language) and receiving a higher number of contributions. Through this methodology, I developed my academic writing and went deeper into the research cases of my interest. At the end of the international doctorate internship, I obtained approval to publish an article in English in Fennia, a renowned journal in Finland. The necessary articles in pre-printed format are related to my theme of research, religion and deregulation of work based on sex work. The originals published in Portuguese were defined and presented in congresses and seminars. The use of the preprint methodology to practice the translation and take these surveys to a wider audience of interlocutors was the solution found to progress in the analysis and to add new data as needed to rapid field changes.

The specialized platforms allow the posting of articles in preprint, and the permanent updating of the text, in addition to enabling feedback from other researchers and readers – Even3 is one of these platforms. Preprints can receive a DOI to prevent plagiarism and facilitate their dissemination and citation.

The use of preprints on platforms such as Research Gates allows greater control of the impact and relevance of the research, by monitoring the number of readers of each of the posted texts. This impact can serve as an indicator for a better evaluation of articles coming from preprints with regard to publication in renowned scientific journals and magazines.

Another issue, no less important, is free access to scientific knowledge. Students have difficulty accessing certain magazines, given the high cost charged to access the materials. Preprint allows free access to ongoing research, reducing the cost of research for students, who receive increasingly little support from the Government and higher education institutions.

The collection presented in this book consists of four articles, three of which are pre-printed and one article published in a magazine of international excellence. The first article is a preprint that talks about the regulation and deregulation of sex work and the crisis during the pandemic period. The second preprint concerns the dispute of identities in a workers' collective action. The third, also a pre-printed translation, addresses the sex work sector that grew the most during the pandemic: camming. The article that concludes this collection talks about the experiences of researchers during the pandemic, in particular, the experiences of female researchers and the difficulty of publishing as the main author. All of these issues undergo the challenge of remote work, overlapping of work and family spaces, and precarious work.

CAPÍTULO 1

REGULATION AND DEREGULATION OF WORK: SEX WORK, PANDEMIC, CRISIS, EXCLUSION AND OVERCOMING STRATEGIES

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ABSTRACT: Our research tries to understand how sex work is affected by the COVID-19 pandemic, what are its strategies for overcoming the health crisis and the actions / omissions of the State in relation to the sector. We produce data on the working conditions of professional camming women, escorts in liberal parties and / or taxi services in Brazil, Portugal and the United Kingdom. The results point to the migration of sex workers from other modalities to camming and a drop in remuneration. The State and society are indifferent to the problems of sex workers in the pandemic.

KEYWORDS: COVID-19; Regulation; Sex work.

REGULACIÓN Y DESREGULACIÓN DEL TRABAJO: TRABAJO SEXUAL, PANDEMIA, CRISIS, EXCLUSIÓN Y ESTRATEGIAS DE SUPERACIÓN

RESUMEN: Nuestra investigación intenta comprender cómo el trabajo sexual se ve afectado por la pandemia de COVID- 19, cuáles son sus estrategias para superar la crisis de salud y las acciones / omisiones del Estado en relación con el sector. Producimos datos sobre las condiciones de trabajo de mujeres profesionales de cámaras, acompañantes en partidos liberales y / o servicios de taxi en Brasil, Portugal y el Reino Unido. Los resultados apuntan a la migración de trabajadoras sexuales de otras modalidades a la cámara y una caída en la remuneración. El Estado y la sociedad son indiferentes a los problemas de las trabajadoras sexuales en la pandemia.

PALABRAS CLAVE: COVID-19; Regulación; Trabajo sexual.

1 I INTRODUCTION

Our research tries to understand how sex work is affected by the Covid-19 pandemic, its strategies for overcoming the health crisis and the State’s actions / omissions in relation to the sector. Our data are produced from interviews and netnography in virtual sex workspaces. We produce data on the working conditions of professional camming women, escorts in liberal parties and / or taxi services in Brazil, Portugal and the United Kingdom. Our analyses start from the perspective of public labour policies and have the State as a privileged interlocutor.

Analysing a social phenomenon as it happens is always very complicated and to some extent, precarious. These are analyses of part of the phenomenon, since it has not yet been exhausted. It is the record of apparently momentary conditions, a print of the current page of sex work. However, these analyses are extremely relevant, as they lead us not only to understand and provide emergency responses to specific questions, but also to feel the event. That feeling is also a valuable research tool.

We produce data on the working conditions of women who use the internet to work at home (albeit partially) in Brazil, Portugal and the United Kingdom: camming professionals (Internet), escorts in liberal parties (Brazil / Portugal) and / or services by taxi (Portugal / United Kingdom). The interest in these countries is due to the migratory itinerary of young people involved in these types of sex work, which we have investigated and monitored since 2016. For the moment, we present here an essay based on some of our investigations and field observations, carried out with the goal of producing a doctoral thesis.

Camming is a sex work performed in front of a webcam on specialized platforms, easily accessible, released for over 18 years on the internet. This activity is better known as “virtual sex” and consists of the attention and exhibition of sex workers to customers who pay for the minutes of access to a virtual room. The professionals who work in this modality are mostly women, between 18 and 34 years old, with education level between 15 and 16 years of study, coming from families with income compatible with the middle class, Barbosa (2017). Camming emerged in the evolution of sex by correspondence, by phone, by electronic text messages and currently happens online (via internet) by voice, text and video. Camgirl’s (as women who do this activity are called) had glory days in the early years after the activity started, when camming was still new.

> Mila Milan is the closest the Webcam is to producing a celebrity: a woman sporting her fortune and who owns a private resort in Thailand (below), a Porsche, an industrial design company, nine cats, eight dogs, who is about to close a deal on a book, a young son, and what she says was “one of the biggest tips in the history of the webcam strip - 260,000 tokens, which was $ 13,000 for me”. She started in the pornography business in Germany at 17 and started to webcam strip a few years later in Bangkok. Two years ago, she was the top-rated model on MyFreeCams - which meant that her link was at the top of the website layout - which earned about $ 37,000 a month. Today, the girls with the best qualifications are earning an insane $ 75,000 a month. The competition is fierce. The battle for the classification in the MFC is cruel, since tips generate more tips: if you are being paid well, you go up in the classification, generating a snowball of more money and attention, Bildle (2012:01).

However, this reality changed with the popularization of this work and was changed even more drastically during the quarantine period of Covid-19, when there was an increase in customer access to platforms and in the number of sex workers involved in camming.

The “liberal ballads” escorts, on the other hand, are young people who win customers through relationship sites with free and casual sex offers. They advertise themselves on pornographic content sites where they provide pop-ups with links to their profile on the social network. The terms “free”, “free”, “mothers” and “married” are the most used in these ads - apparently there is a belief among men that married women and “single mothers” are more willing than others to have casual and free sex.

When the client clicks the link, he is directed to the professional’s page, who establishes a friendly contact and invites him to a liberal party, a place where there is a greater promise of freedom for sexual intimacy than in other nightclubs.

The liberal ballad works like a regular nightclub, with some more daring attractions such as the presence of half-naked dancers, strip tease shows and other sensory experiences such as erotic shop windows and dark rooms. The main difference between a liberal ballad and a common nightclub is the provision of private spaces for sexual practice, in addition to the sale of erotic clothes, shoes and accessories. These spaces are rented for minutes.

Liberal party escorts do not pay admission to the nightclub, have a command of drinks previously released for their consumption (which they cannot share with the guest) and free transportation between their home and work. They earn a fee per night and / or commissions on the consummation of their guest, including admission, drinks, food, shopping and especially on renting private space to have sex with her.

Experienced customers know that this relationship is a business and choose to buy this casual sex fantasy. However, for the novice client the transaction is not so clear, everything seems like a casual and free sex relationship, while for the professional it is an organized and systematic work, from which she withdraws her main income, or amounts for the achievement of certain objectives. punctual - purchase of a new cell phone, for example.

Like the previous activity, it is the service of professionals who serve in “alternative” bars (bars with sexual services in the upper floor rooms), in Portugal and use the Internet to win customers. The main difference is that in this service format, the client negotiates sex work directly, not through an occasional, free sex fantasy. In the alternating bars, the companions earn to keep the client company at the bar and / or “go up” to the room. The price is charged per hour or per program and she pays the bar owner a commission.

Another type of “new” sex work is that of traveling by taxi or sex drive. This service consists of the use of an exclusive application for certain nightclubs, aimed at highly rated customers. Initially, this service consisted of a fleet destined to take customers (drunk) from the nightclubs to their home - in order to avoid accidents and fines - and the companion who was with the customer at the nightclub also accompanied him on this journey. Later, in addition to taking the drunk client safely home, the nightclubs also picked him up at home. In a short time, the business has evolved into a permanent service, in which the customer has a “luxury and luxury” taxi service - according to the application’s slogan. This service is performed very discreetly and easily passes through a traditional luxury taxi service. The sex-drive service was suspended with the pandemic, as were the services of liberal nightclubs and clubs.

A little less discreet are the professionals who serve in vehicles with 8 to 10 seats, who look for the client wherever he is. These vehicles stop in camping areas or eucalyptus plantations, in Portugal, for sexual practice. The work in the “vans” is not restricted to the upper classes, as the sex drive, on the contrary, has a clientele closer to the middle class.

2 I THE SEX NETWORK IN THE PANDEMIC

Sex work from street prostitution to camming works in a network and accommodates the migration of professionals from one modality to another. A young woman who is doing a program today, tomorrow may be dancing in a strip tease nightclub, recording porn videos, making erotic photos among other activities in this sector Diàz-Benitez (2010). This is the case of camming champion Mila Milan, who is now an actress and producer of porn films.

This network was quite evident during the quarantine period, when hand-to-hand service in sex work was prohibited and the clientele was kept at home. This emergency left thousands of sex workers out of work and unable to survive. It remains evident that the lack of effective regulation for this sector promotes a precarious condition that exposes a large contingent of people, mostly women, to poverty, without any social or social assistance. The solution for many (but not all) was to migrate to camming.

However, this modality is not one of the most democratic, requires some investment and knowledge for the exercise of work, and it is where variables such as colour, education and social class have greater weight in income, Sanders et. al. (2017).

The migration of many sex workers from other modalities to camming promoted a strong loss in income both for beginning professionals and those who already worked in camming. The professionals established in this modality experienced a phenomenon in which they had more hours worked (and available on the platform) and lower performance, due to a series of old and new factors.

> During the Covid-19 quarantine period, a veritable avalanche of new camming professionals - from other types of sex work, and from outside it - took over the specialized platforms. “The Brazilian website Camera Hot, which has about 800 camgirls, revealed that in the period from March 1st to 19th, there was an increase of almost 300 thousand visitors, compared to the same period last month”, Cruz (2020: 01).

The interviewees who already worked on the platforms before the pandemic noticed some changes in the quarantine: the fixed clientele - Quarantined married men who are monitored by family members for sexual intimacy - left, but new clients arrived, young singles who before the health crisis were looking for sex in the clubs or on the streets; there was an even greater reduction in the earnings of professionals in this modality; the price per minute has changed; many customers prefer to buy a monthly subscription rather than buying separate credits; commissions and fees went up, changing according to the availability of models and customers at that time.

The result is that in quarantine, even with the increase in the general clientele of the platforms, a camming model spends more time waiting for a client than in their service, experiencing an increase in hours worked, but with a drop in monthly income.

The logic of supply and demand (law applied to goods) imposed on this sector of work leads to the devaluation of work as more professionals enter a modality. This is the logic of “uberization”, Slee (2017), that is applied by digital platforms in various sectors of services and commerce. Its algorithms do not differentiate between commodity price and labour force price. In the conventional labour market, the logic of work remuneration is that the more workers employed in an activity, the higher the salary level increases, Machado (2020).

3 | THE QUARANTINE OF SEX WORK: ABANDONMENT OF CLIENTELE AND THE OMISSION OF THE STATE

In the scenario of quarantine and emergency decrees, the most serious is the state deregulation regarding sex work and the indifference of society that prevents these professionals from accessing social security and social assistance. In addition, they limit their ability to articulate, insofar as they do not recognize their associations, in the union regime. Supposedly, the recognition of a sex workers' union would be considered "aid to prostitution", a crime of pimping. It would be necessary to decriminalize pimping first.

These professionals rely only on the help of support groups (almost charitable) promoted by sparse public policies, most of them for assistance purposes, and with the aim of referring them to other activities outside of sex work.

In Portugal the debate regarding sex work during the pandemic takes place in the political arena with parliamentary debates about the legalization of pimping, as a criterion for the regulation of sex work and its right to unionization. Once again, sex work is reduced to prostitution, no other modality is guided beyond that, Bernstein (2014); Weitzer (2010).

> The Committee on Constitutional Affairs, Rights, Freedoms and Guarantees is discussing this Thursday afternoon the decriminalization of simple pimping, that is, whether or not it should be a crime, "professionally or with a lucrative intention, to encourage, favor or facilitate the exercise" of prostitution of adult, informed people who want to do so. The first subscriber is a woman who started out as an escort and started to run her own business. Her name is Ana Loureiro and at work she is responsible for Andreia Montenegro. "My expectation is that there will be sensitivity and common sense to debate the issue and that a solution be reached", he says. See this moment as "a step" in the desired direction. Even if a part gets in the way, he believes that some aspirations will come true. When he launched the petition last year, he had two fundamental objectives in mind: that prostitution be "considered a profession", that whoever exercises it declares income, pays taxes, cashes in Social Security, as is done in "any other job", And to legalize the places where prostitution is practiced, in order to ensure safety and hygiene for those who work there. This is accompanied by the increase in the minimum age to 21, exercise limited to persons with Portuguese nationality or foreigners in a regular situation, mandatory medical examinations every six months, Pereira (2020:01).

Pimping applies to the figure of the pimp and this is a typical criminal figure of prostitution, it does not fit into other forms of sex work, which also need regulation. Even within prostitution, the pimp is a disappearing actor. Actors in prostitution, who are now framed in pimping, are necessary helpers in providing services - accountants, security guards, janitors, among others.

They are a far cry from the "Pimp" figure who oversaw the activity, the client portfolio and the income of prostitutes. The activity of digital platform administrator (which is not framed by the Legislator as pimping) is closer to the figure of the pimp than those who work with the prostitute in apartments and bars assisting her. Prostitution is currently a self-management activity in most cases.

The figure of the pimp, criminalized by criminal law, is present only in the prostitution of people in situations of vulnerability and / or extreme poverty, illegal immigration and forced sex work. However, criminalizing an actor / activity because less than 5% of them are linked to poverty and / or slave labour, is neither reasonable nor fair - It is like criminalizing the activity of a farmer because in some crops there may be slave labour. We know this is absurd. It is necessary to define the moulds within which the activity should be carried out (rights and duties) and to monitor the occurrence of poor working conditions and / or slave labour, as in any other activity. Slave labour itself is already classified as a crime in any activity, there is no need to criminalize activities.

Due to the State's moralistic expedients, all sex work remains unregulated. Their public policies only deal with prostitution, especially with criminalize "aid to prostitution". Under this motto, the State ultimately considers any policy of rights for sex workers as a crime of aid to prostitution or pimping (including the right to unionization).

> On the 20th of January, the petition Legalization of Prostitution in Portugal and / or Depenalization of Lenocinio, if it doesn't happen by coercion, totalled 4004 signatures. Today, it adds up to 4544. As it encompasses two distinct themes, even if communicating, it was divided: The Commission for Constitutional Affairs, Rights, Freedoms and Guarantees should consider, this Thursday, the decriminalization of simple pimping and the Commission for Labour and Social Security the regulation of prostitution. There will then be a plenary debate, Pereira (2020:01).

Without discriminating against pimping (function in disuse) there is no way to regulate sex work rights. In this way, sex workers will continue to be exposed to precariousness and abandonment in situations like those they are exposed to in the Covid-19 pandemic.

4 I THE NORMATIVE MODELS AND THEIR EFFECTS ON WOMEN'S SEX WORK

If it weren't for the moral / family problems that involve sex work, it could be regulated like any other activity, without requiring special laws. Because labour laws do not explicitly exclude sex work from their legislative matter - in the countries investigated. However, in view of the special needs of this sector, the State has established criminal, regulatory or regulatory rules Ribeiro (2008). To make clear the differences between regulation and regulation, we analyse in detail each model of standardization and its practical effects on sex workers. There are 3 models: total criminalization, partial criminalization and regulation.

CATEGORY	SUBCATEGORY	CONTENT
Total criminalization	Prohibitionism	It criminalizes the purchase, sale and exploitation of the sex trade (it criminalizes all activity, the client and the sex worker).
Partial criminalization	Regulatoryism	It imposes a series of regulations for the exercise of prostitution, such as specific areas in which prostitutes can work and move, regular health checks, a police officer registered prostitute's license, permitted clothing and behaviour, among other requirements. In practice, these regulations made the activity unfeasible and those who violated them were punished with imprisonment.
	Abolitionism	It criminalizes the purchase of indoor and outdoor sex, and the exploitation of the sex trade. It criminalizes the customer who buys sex (demand) and who exploits or favours the activity but does not criminalize the sex worker.
	Neoabolitionism	It criminalizes the exploitation of the sex trade (indoor / outdoor) and the purchase of sex on the sidewalk, but it allows the purchase of indoor sex and the sale of sexual services by an independent professional who works alone (indoor).
Regulationism	Full regulation	It allows the purchase, sale and exploitation of the indoor and outdoor sex trade.

PUBLIC POLICY MODELS FOR SEX WORK

Schulze et. al., 2014.

The total (or prohibitionist) criminalization model prohibits prostitution - and pornography in some countries - in all its forms and locations, streets, vehicles, bridges, hotels, apartments, etc. Penalizes the sex worker and the client, with fines and / or imprisonment. This model aims to extinguish prostitution, on the grounds that prostitutes cannot be prostituted and will seek another form of work, Ribeiro (2008).

In practice, this model has not given the desired result, creating an illegal sex trade and imprisoning women in prostitution. This is because acting in illegality, the brothels end up in hiding, without the proper controls that fall on commerce in general. They become the target of blackmail by public agents who demand advantages in order to "turn a blind eye" to illegal operations, when they do not monopolize the activity. In the case of sidewalk prostitutes, they end up being obliged to provide free sexual services to police authorities to avoid arrest, Mac (2016). When arrested, registered in police stations or convicted of the crime of prostitution, they never leave prostitution again because with a criminal record, or registered as prostitutes they cannot get another job. The results of criminalization are exactly opposite to those intended, Mac (2016).

Like prohibitionism are the abolitionist and neo-abolitionist models (partial criminalization). In abolitionism the purchase of indoor and outdoor sex, as well as the exploitation of the sex trade is criminalized, but the sale is not a crime, therefore, this model criminalizes the customer who buys sex (demand) and the entrepreneur who organizes the activity, but does not criminalizes the prostitute and makes no references to other sex work activities, other than prostitution, Sanders et. al. (2018). This model, closely linked to a wing of feminism, aims to avoid the problem created by the criminal record resulting from prohibitionism. Initially, he aimed to extinguish regulations that ended up subjecting prostitutes to prison for noncompliance with the rules, finally he ends up pleading for the extinction of prostitution, ending the demand for sexual services, criminalizing the client, Ribeiro (2008).

Since the 1990s, this state intervention in prostitution in many developed countries has caused a major reconfiguration in the sex market. Until then, governments either ignored the activity, or forbade it, closing in on women's work, as happened in France, for example. (...) However, some governments, already at the turn of the 20th century to the 21st, mobilized feminist arguments in the fight against prostitution, starting to criminalize clients unilaterally, especially in Sweden and in some American states, such as California, Costa (2018:43).

However, the effects of these norms on sex work are further insecurity in the working conditions of prostitutes. The client opts for hurried contacts and meetings, without security, inside vehicles, on dark streets, for fear of being fined. Prostitutes in this regime end up lowering prices and giving up their security to attract the cornered client, Mac (2016).

What emerges as the great evolution in the regulation of sex work, the neo-abolitionist model is well accepted by the societies that adopt it - notably the United Kingdom - treated with a certain glamor and called "empowered" by neo-liberal feminists Sanders et. al. (2009). This normative model allows the purchase of indoor sex and the sale of sexual services by self-employed professionals who work alone inside a private location. It aims to combat and criminalize the exploitation of the sex trade and the purchase of sex on the sidewalk. In short, it allows the prostitute to offer her services and serve her clients privately and without other professionals on site. It presents an evolution when compared to prohibitionism and abolitionism, as it allows the purchase and sale of indoor sex, without any of the parties involved being penalized. However, the professional's safety decreases, forbidding her to have other people at the service location, under penalty of characterizing a brothel organization Mac (2016). On the street, when a prostitute enters the client's vehicle, there is almost always a colleague watching, or other witnesses, this inhibits the action of malicious clients. Many professionals even write down the license plate and keep it until their colleague returns. This does not happen when buying and selling indoor sex, especially in apartments, which requires prostitutes to adopt extra security strategies. In addition, by prohibiting the organization of brothels, prostitutes are left without access to employment, labour and social security rights. This model does not advance the normative issue of distance services, "there are no specific laws specific to Internet-based sex work", Sanders et. al. (2018:05).

> In the UK, it is currently legal to advertise sexual services online, it is also legal to sell physical sexual services from a private location (soliciting on the streets is a crime) only if the property is occupied by only one person who works independently. If two or more sex workers decide to share the same workplace, then they can be prosecuted for maintaining a brothel. In Northern Ireland, in 2015, laws began to criminalize the purchase of sex, but this does not apply across the UK. There are no laws regulating the conduct of webcammers or those who provide instant messaging, or telephone sex services Sanders et. al. (2018:05).

Sanders et. al. (2018) carries out an extensive study on sex work on the Internet throughout the United Kingdom, a study that has become a reference for our thesis and will be analysed in detail in the next chapter when we will complement the data we produce in Brazil, Portugal and the United Kingdom with data from studies carried out by other researchers in those countries.

The third, and not the best, or most important model is that of total regulation or regulationism, currently found in the Netherlands and Germany, Costa (2018). This normative model consists of giving sex work the same status as work in general, with some specific regulatory rules. It allows the purchase, sale and exploitation of the indoor and outdoor sex trade.

At first glance, it may seem like the fulfilment of sex workers' dreams, but not quite, this model also has its drawbacks. In our research with sex professionals, we identified some problems in relation to this proposal.

It is necessary to emphasize that sex work is not excluded from the incidence of general labour laws in any of the countries surveyed - once the requirements forming the relationship of employment or employment are present, there will be an incidence of labour legislation. In our field research, when interviewing sex workers, we realized that in reality it is not labour laws or lack of them that prevent sex workers from having access to their labour rights, but practical issues specific to the category and their relationship with employers in contrary to criminal law.

One of these issues: in order to demand labour rights in court, there is the exposure of both the professional and his clients, in addition to businessmen in the industry, there is no guarantee of secrecy of justice to protect the privacy of the parties, and the businessman may (from according to the laws of each country) be held criminally responsible and imprisoned.

For sex workers to have access to their rights, in addition to the secrecy of justice, it would be necessary to decriminalize employers. However, decriminalizing pimping without prohibiting the joint exploitation of other commercial activities (such as restaurants and hotels, for example) is at risk. In the employment relationship there is subordination, and companies that combine sex work with other activities may end up submitting non-female workers prostitutes to prostitution. In this scenario, the identification of situations of sexual harassment at work is also very difficult.

Regulation in this sector cannot be a mere declaration by the State, equating the rights of sex workers with the rights of other workers, this is already done in countries where prostitution is not criminalized. What is intended to be legalized is simple pimping Patto (2020), which cannot be done without paying attention to specific details of sex work so that there is no harm to other categories, or the facilitation of other sexual crimes, such as sexual exploitation and harassment.

In Portuguese law, the crime of simple pimping is foreseen in article 169 of the Penal Code: "Anyone, professionally or with a profit intent, fomenting, favouring or facilitating the exercise by another person of prostitution is punished with a prison sentence of six months to five years". In Brazilian and English legislation, the descriptions of this crime are very similar to the Portuguese.

5 I CONCLUSIONS

We conclude that the regulation of sex work, especially of female prostitution, depends on a new international paradigm that changes the current discourse that associates commercial exploitation of prostitution with the crime of human trafficking to work as sex slaves. We emphasize the issue of the female gender, because when talking about sex work, the concern of society and the State is centred on the work of women, men are totally ignored. They appear only as traffickers and pimps. In social representations, a man earning money for sex is extremely advantageous for him (he is earning when he should be paying), while for the woman it is a demoralizing and violating act of dignity - the woman's sex is sacred, cannot be changed for something other than love, or for a son. However, neither the State nor the Society asks key stakeholders what they think about the sale of sex and how they would like their work to be treated by the public and by law.

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CAPÍTULO 2

COLLECTIVE ACTION FOR LABOR RIGHTS AND THE STRUGGLE FOR LGBTQ RECOGNITION IN BRAZIL: TIPPING POINTS AND REFLECTION

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ABSTRACT: The potential effects of sexual identity guidelines on work-related demands for distribution lead us to believe that there is a tipping point between sexuality and work: perhaps the flexibility of the theory of heteronormativity. In order to consider this normative principle, we engaged in the debate between Butler (2016) and Fraser (2017) concerning the struggle for distribution and recognition in the United States of America and Europe, and we analyzed the Brazilian scenario based on the categories suggested in this discussion, albeit under the perspective of productive restructuring. In this article, the relationship between sexuality and work is established on the assumption that sexual identities are influenced by kinship relationships in Brazil that are closely related to work.

KEYWORDS: Sexual identity; Colletive Action; Labor Rights.

1 I INTRODUCTION

The potential effects of sexual identity guidelines on work-related demands for distribution lead us to believe that there is a tipping point between sexuality and work: perhaps the flexibility of the theory of heteronormativity. In order to consider this normative principle, we engaged in the debate between Butler (2016) and Fraser (2017) concerning the struggle for distribution and recognition in the United States of America and Europe, and we analyzed the Brazilian scenario based on the categories suggested in this discussion, albeit under the perspective of productive restructuring. In this article, the relationship between sexuality and work is established on the assumption that sexual identities are influenced by kinship relationships in Brazil that are closely related to work. In field observations and interviews with sex workers who work with the help or endorsement of family members, we have perceived a certain fluidity in sexual identities. They shift in order to gain better compensation (shared interest with the family), but the compensation never appears as an agenda in their collective actions. Rather, it is the recognition of work based on a sexual identity, which takes place in light of the state of autonomous work of most of the interviewees and the difficulty of framing their demands within the traditional unions.

The flexibilization of heteronormativity in Brazil can be better understood as a movement to adapt the family to satisfy the interests of capital. It should not be regarded merely as ‘false-recognition’, as maintained by Fraser (2017), and is far from being a ‘*weapon* against the capitalist system’ in the manner proposed by Butler (2016).

Our methodology included field observations and semi-structured interviews with sex professionals[1], women between the ages of 18 and 29, with whom we investigated the sexual orientation and identity they affiliated with and depicted in their internet ads over a two-year period, and we selected (10 prostitutes) those who represented a range of sexual identities. Subsequently, we conducted interviews in an effort to discover the reasons for the changes and the influence of families in these changes and on the work of the interviewees. We also examined the identity used by these workers in their collective actions related to labor, their agendas, and demands.

Elsewhere, once required authorizations were secured, we collected data on the compensation of men and women (28 employees) who worked as pharmacy clerks and were hired through the company’s identity quota program – heterosexual and non- heterosexual, white and non-white – to determine if compensation varies according to sex or sexual identity. Also, we included the ‘color’ variable to weigh differences that could be linked to racial issues and not just sexuality. All employees interviewed had a test- period agreement with a pharmacy chain in Santa Catarina and are affiliated with a union that the author has provided services to as a lawyer. This pharmacy chain was chosen due to its identity quota policy. In the analysis of kinship/sexuality/work relationships, we have focused on the following: sex, sexual orientation, sexual identity, and compensation. We worked with the definition of sex as biological sex; sexual orientation as the direction given to libido due to a loving and intimate object; sexual identity as the way in which the individual assumes roles and/or functions centered on sexuality and claims rights before society because of it; and compensation as the calculation of monetary benefits received for working. We adopted the concept of work proposed by the International Labour Organization (ILO 2013)[2] and restricted ourselves to the limits of the Brazilian Classification of Occupations (CBO)[3]. The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), in its statistical recommendations, published a framework in 2013 proposed by the ILO that “defines the activities that make up the concept of work. The characteristic that distinguishes each type of work is its core objective, which should not be confused with personal reasons or motivations for conducting that work” (IBGE 2013).

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[1] We refer to a sex worker or prostitute according to the preference of each interviewee. The only activity related to sex work that we examined in this article is prostitution.

[2] International Labour Organization. 19th. ICLS, 2013. Available at: http://www.ilo.org/global/statistics- and-databases/meetings-and-events/international-conference-oflabour-statisticians/19/lang--es/index.htm. Accessed: Jan 20, 2019.

[3] Brazilian Classification of Occupations. Available at: http://www.mtecbo.gov.br/cbosite/pages/home.jsf. Accessed: Jan 20, 2019.

Work	Main objective
Work on production consumption	Producing goods and services for your own consumption or that of your family unit.
Occupation*	Generate income
Work as an apprentice or trainee	Acquire skills or work experience
Volunteer work	Benefit others, outside your family unit
Compulsory work stipulated by the State	Rehabilitation, reintegration, or civil compensation

IBGE, 2013. * Includes work performed by auxiliary family workers, as they contribute to the generation of household income.

1. IBGE conceptual framework.

The explanation of this *a priori* analysis is significant, considering we work from data that has not only been produced in the commercial sector, but also in the sexual services sector, which also leads to controversies regarding the recognition of its professionals as male and female workers. We intend to substantiate our decision to join those who recognize prostitution as a job: the State did so by including it alongside other occupations and the activity falls within the concept of work suggested by the ILO.

Our analysis model at no time defends the ethics or aesthetics of this or that work activity, orientation, or identity. It does not fit moral positions, which *per se* does not exempt us from political positions regarding the rights of workers and the LGBTQ community – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual and Queer. It works on the premise that the identity causes have an impact on the collective action of workers in the defense of distributive agendas (Fraser 2017) and that heteronormativity was embraced by the capital for the benefit of the reproduction of the workforce (Butler 2016). For a better understanding of the variables and the research results, we prefer to use more explicit terms such as 'straight, homo, lesbian, bi, gay, queer, cisgender, transgender, and transsexual'[4]. Our initial hypothesis investigated the fluidity of sexual identities of sex workers and started from indicators provided in studies by Butler (2003) suggesting that identities are not fixed.

The purpose of this investigation is to demonstrate the relationship between work and sexuality (tipping points) and to analyze how work can influence sexuality and organize sexuality that, to some extent, can hinder the collective action of workers for labor rights (reflections).

We also intend to demonstrate that biological sex and pregnancy do not determine differences in wages. These are determined by the social role imposed on female sexual identity. Additionally, we are trying to find a generalization starting from the process of organizing collective action from the category of sex workers to other categories of workers. We propose the hypothesis that this phenomenon, the overlap of family/sexuality/work, is not something new in Brazil and it intensifies as informality at work and the confusion between the workspace and the family, the public, and the private space increases.

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[4] Male/female sex: biological sex given at birth. Gender: "It is the way in which each individual expresses himself in the world. Clothes, language, voice, style, behavior – characteristics socially associated with the female or male universe"(Martins, 2018); Heterosexual: individual who has sexual relations with people of the opposite sex; Homosexual: individual who has sex with people of the same sex; Lesbian: woman who has sex with women; Bisexual: man or woman who has sex with people of both sexes; Gay: man who has sex with men; Queer: individual who mixes genders and sexual orientations, of both sexes (in the research he entered as those who did not fit the other orientations or identities); Cis or 'cisgender': someone whose expression of gender is in line with the expected social pattern of the biological sex he presents at birth; Trans: when referring to sex is 'transsexual', an individual who was born from one sex and transited to another through medical intervention, when referring to gender is 'transgender' an individual whose gender expression does not match the socially expected pattern of biological sex introduced at birth (Martins 2018).

To this end, we propose a reflection on the interstices between Philosophy, Sociology of Work, and authors related to Social Psychology to discuss changes identified by the confusion between public space and intimacy[5] due to the new informality[6] that is imposed through digital work and advances on the family home space of male and female workers.

2 I RESULTS

The data produced over the two years of research on sex workers demonstrates that their sexual identity is quite fluid, and this fluidity may occur due to adaptations of family relationships to this job market.

Name of the Professional	Marital status Sexual orientation	Sexual identity	Reason for change in sexual identity	Did the change have a family influence? Who?
1. Carmem	Married/straight	Bisexual	Improve income	Husband
2. July	Married/straight	Bisexual	Improve income	Husband
3. Martinha	Married/straight	Bisexual	More security	Husband
4. Andressa	Single/lesbian	Bisexual	Improve income	Mother
5. Gaby	Married/lesbian	Bisexual	More security	Partner
6. Maria	Single/straight	Bisexual	Improve income	Mother
7. Deborah	Single/straight	Bisexual	More security	Sisters
8. Vanessa	Married/straight	Bisexual	Improve income	Mother
9. Victoria	Married/Straight	Bisexual	Improve Income	Husband
10. Amanda	Married/Straight	Bisexual	More Security	Husband

2. TABLE OF REASON FOR CHANGE IN SEXUAL IDENTITY OF PROSTITUTES

Author, 2019.

Most of the interviewees reported themselves married and in heterosexual marital relationships. 30% are single, and all of them identify themselves as bisexual in their advertisements about their services. They point out that they assume a bisexual identity at work to boost income and security and to respond to a great demand for bisexual prostitutes, particularly in swinger clubs with ‘private parties’.

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5 A situation that occurs in circumstances such as those of inmates (Varella 2017).

6 We will not delve into the debate on informality and its new technological tools here as it is a side issue to the main debate.

> I started working with two friends, and we worked at the apartment of the oldest in the scheme, advertised on the internet and scheduled a place. But I realized that there were a lot of clients who wanted us at nightclubs and parties, and at their house with their wives. Those people who were into threesomes and swinging were the ones who pay the most for the gig and who treat us with the most respect (Vanessa, 22 years old).

The interviewees report that about 35% of their clients book services for a couple. Most of married women report that the husband prefers that she serves couples instead of unaccompanied men, which may also help explain the migration of the identity of these women from heterosexual to bisexual over the past 2 years. They claim that, in addition to stirring the imagination of customers and attracting couples[7], the new identity does not lessen the interest of traditional customers. It is noteworthy that even the interviewee who identifies herself as a lesbian and maintains a homosexual affective relationship represents herself as a bisexual and caters to a couple, which is a strong indication that their work has more to do with sexual identity than with sexual orientation and that one thing is not necessarily linked to the other as is usually assumed. At any given moment, an individual who identifies himself as gay may be maintaining a heterosexual relationship without this alienating him from his identity group.

Activist prostitutes have published a significant amount of literature in Brazil – notably Monique Prada and Gabriela Leite – and this collection provides us with material to understand how work-oriented sexual identity culminates in a process of belonging to an identity group and stimulates an awakening in these workers for collective action concerning sexual identity, but that is not limited to guidelines for recognition. This process is further enhanced by the scarcity of space for their demands with unions, who are not receptive to 'certain types' of professionals. A similar process may be taking place within the working class, making unionization more difficult and promoting recognition guidelines.

Name	Biological sex	Gender	Sexual identity	Color	Position	Gross monthly income
A	Male	Cis	Straight	White	Pharmacy clerk	R$ 2,200.00
B	Male	Cis	Straight	White	Pharmacy clerk	R$ 2,165.00
C	Male	Cis	Straight	Mixed race	Pharmacy clerk	R$ 2,152.00
D	Male	Cis	Straight	Mixed race	Pharmacy clerk	R$ 2,080.00
E	Male	Cis	Straight	Mixed race	Pharmacy clerk	R$ 2,046.00
F	Female	Cis	Straight	White	Pharmacy clerk	R$ 1,700.00
G	Female	Cis	Straight	Mixed race	Pharmacy clerk	R$ 1,700.00
H	Female	Cis	Straight	Mixed race	Pharmacy clerk	R$ 1,700.00

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[7] In the observations and interviews, there is a shifting of behavior in the intimacy of couples, especially among couples who have been in a relationship for more than 5 years, as well as within families that no longer expel young women from the household when they engage in prostitution, as had been the case in the past. The interviewees and/or those being observed live with a husband and children or with parents and siblings, and the financial income from their work is the main source of the family's livelihood. Apparently, prostitution is increasingly becoming entrenched as a family business.

I	Female	Cis	Straight	Mixed race	Pharmacy clerk	R$ 1,700.00
J	Female	Cis	Straight	White	Pharmacy clerk	R$ 1,700.00

3. TABLE OF COMPENSATION BY SEX, GENDER, IDENTITY, COLOR, AND POSITION

Author, 2019. The above amounts of compensation earned in 2014 were updated to May 2019 using the IPCA-E index.

It should be pointed out that the gender inequality or social role related to sexuality in each of the sexual identities (LGBTQ) remains. Among cis-non-straight men and women, transsexuals and/or transgenders, the wage gap linked to the female role remains in percentages that are very close to those of cis-hetero men and women, although they earn less than the latter. As with hetero couples, it happens with non-hetero couples. The partner who assumes a feminine role linked to domestic obligations has lower wages than those of their peers, even if the couple does not have a child.

Name	Biological sex	Gender	Sexual identity	Color	Function	Gross monthly income
A	Male	Cis	Bisexual	Black	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 1,800.00
B	Male	Cis	Bisexual	White	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 2,038.00
C	Male	Cis	Gay/male	White	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 2,010.00
D	Male	Cis	Gay/male	Mixed race	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 2,022.00
E	Male	Cis	Gay/male	Mixed race	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 2,027.00
F	Male	Cis	Gay/female	White	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 1,700.00
G	Male	Cis	Gay/female	White	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 1,675.00
H	Male	Queer	Pansexual	White	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 1,667.00
I	Trans sex	Trans gender	Straight/female	Mixed race	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 1,670.00
J	Trans sex	Trans gender	Straight/male	Mixed race	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 2,014.00
L	Female	Queer	Pansexual	White	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 1,023.00
M	Female	Cis	Lesbian/female	White	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 1,700.00
N	Female	Cis	Lesbian/female	White	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 1,700.00
O	Female	Cis	Lesbian/female	White	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 1,700.00
P	Female	Cis	Lesbian/male	White	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 2,129.00

Q	Female	Cis	Lesbian/male	White	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 2,066.00
R	Female	Queer	Pansexual	White	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 1,654.00
S	Trans sex	Trans gender	Lesbian/female	White	Pharmacy Clerk	R$ 1,825.00

4. TABLE OF COMPENSATION BY SEX, GENDER, IDENTITY, COLOR, AND POSITION

Author, 2019. The above amounts of compensation earned in 2014 were updated to May 2018 using the IPCA-E index.

We noticed in this table that it is not biological sex and the possibility of becoming pregnant that causes women to earn less than men, as common sense implies, but the 'female role'[8] that is linked to the family structure and directly interferes with productivity at work (taking on less overtime, being absent for family care, leaving work to do household chores, etc.). This analysis leads us to deduce that it is not necessarily the presence of children that reduces the woman's salary, but the role that she assumes or is expected to assume in the conjugal home. Surveys conducted at Brazilian National Household Sampling Survey (PNAD)/IBGE[9] in 2018 indicate that the birth of the first child reduces the salary of a married worker by up to 24%, and that women with 3 children or more earn up to 40% less than women without children. These surveys, however, do not analyze how gender roles are divided in those homes. In our field observations, we noticed that childless couples tend to have a more equal division of roles and responsibilities[10].

Color does not figure as a relevant variable for compensation due to the area where the research was conducted, a predominately-white region with a relatively low number of blacks participating in the labor market. However, it highlights the exclusion of blacks in jobs at pharmacies in Santa Catarina during that period, even for an income that proposes to support identity causes. Despite having blacks in their advertising inserts, their job quotas do not include color or race.

If the market incentive helps to organize collective actions around sexual identities, the fact that the increase in informality, work in the family sphere, access to social networks, and the low rate of union membership are also facilitators for organizing collective action through identity in Brazil should not be overlooked.

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[8] In findings from research on sex workers in the United Kingdom (Sanders 2017) the difference in pay between men and women is striking, with women's earnings significantly higher than those of men because the role that female sex workers perform does not correspond to the standard female role, while men who manage to establish themselves in this sector are, almost exclusively, those who place themselves in the female role. The work of the sex worker is prioritized by the family because it earns more.

[9] The study in question was conducted with married women workers, whether they had children or not. However, in addition to not offering a comparison with data on married men workers with and without children, it also does not provide comparisons involving data on single working women with and without children, nor of non-straight couples that may or may not have children. The research is only conducted with married women to eliminate the marriage variable from wage reductions; however, we believe that it would be more appropriate to compare data from single women who may or may not have children for this purpose.

[10] This is the time in a traditional couple's relationship when the man still does not make a direct connection between the figure of the wife and the image of the mother, applying the Freudian theory of sexuality in this case (Freud 1910).

> In 2017, of the 91.4 million employed persons, 14.4% (13.1 million people) were members of a union, a 3.2% decrease compared to 2016 and the lowest rate since records began in 2012. The highest rate in 2017 occurred among employees within the public sector (27.3%), followed by employees in the private sector with a formal contract (19.2%). Self-employed workers faced one of the most significant drops in the unionization rate in the historical records , from 11.3% in 2012 to 8.6% in 2017 (IBGE 2018: 1).

Take, for example, the case of sex workers who – despite being organized in many associations around the country and indicating there could be the formation of a union underway – are excluded from the CUT (Central Workers' Union) from the outset. This union publicly assumed a discourse against regulating the activity of sex workers, taking an abolitionist stance[11] towards prostitution, even considering that the State had recognized the activity as a job.

> For the secretary of the Working Woman of the Union, Rosane Silva, the PL endorses a model of society based on the capitalist system, patriarchy and machismo. She also criticized parliamentary actions behind the scenes and demanded public policies so that women would not perceive prostitution as a way to survive. "Jean is forcing Kokay (deputy Érika Kokay of Workers' Party of the Federal District – PT-DF) to present a draft of the project and frame PT. And the comrade is waiting for the CUT to give their opinion. My opinion is that she will not accept the draft and will organize women representatives to vote against this text. What we need is to fight for public policies that lift women out of prostitution" she stated (CUT citing Silva 2013:1).

Regarding this clash between CUT and sex workers, Monique Prada, a prostitute and activist for the rights of prostitutes in Brazil and who identifies herself as a feminist, writes in her book: "In response to this position, CUTS[12] was conceived in December of 2015, a networking organization that unites various associations of prostitutes from all over Brazil" (Prada 2018:98).

3 I DEBATE

Nowadays, sexuality has taken over the public scene, leading workers to neglect collective labor actions in favor of identity causes. These agendas gain strength when adopted by neoliberalism in the United States of America and Europe, which used them there to improve their image (Fraser 2017), while in Brazil they are introduced by center-left governments for whom they served as facilitators of alliances with the ruling classes[13].

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[11] Abolitionism is a trend-led by the 'radical' feminist movements that initially intended to regulate prostitution in order to abolish sexual exploitation in prostitution and free prostitutes from servitude, but by advocating tighter rules and increasingly intensive control over the activity, they began over time to defend the abolition of prostitution.

[12] CUTS stands for *Central Única de Trabalhadores e Trabalhadores do Sexo* (Central Union for General & Sex Workers), and brings together associations such as Asprorn (Association of Prostitutes of Rio Grande do Norte), Aprospi (Association of Prostitutes of Piauí), Aprosmig (Association of Prostitutes of Minas Gerais), Aproce (Association of Prostitutes of Ceará), Aprosba (Association of Prostitutes of Bahia), Association of Prostitutes of the State of Pará and the Association of Prostitutes and Former Prostitutes of Amazonas.

[13] No party governs with the support of a single class. The center-left parties in Brazil knew this and sought the support of the ruling classes in addition to the working class of their base. The ruling classes have no interest in guidelines for

This impact of the sexual identity guidelines on work-related distribution guidelines leads us to reflect on the existence of a tipping point between sexuality and work, and one of them seems to be heteronormativity[14]. From the perspective of sexuality, heteronormativity would be the baseline for constructing and deconstructing sexual identities and would address the need for the domination and reproduction of the workforce at work (Butler 2016). However, with the advancement of productive restructuring and the growing need for labor, heteronormativity is becoming weaker and its flexibility seems to be more appealing to capital – insofar as multiple identities serve to divide the working class and weaken their collective action, we presume they are more efficient for this purpose than the simple division by sex. Heteronormativity is clearly a tipping point between sexual identity guidelines and distributive guidelines – and it is the backdrop for the debate between Butler (2016) and Fraser (2017) – because, in so far as their flexibility eases one sphere of rights, it weakens the other , even though they appear to pertain to distinct life, personal, and professional plans.

It is always challenging to establish a relationship between sexuality and work, because at some point sexuality was forcibly married with a gender perspective, largely because of the feminist movement's support for LGBTQ agendas – Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Queer – making it seem like gender and sexuality are the same thing, but they are not. However, we do not subscribe to the viewpoint of queer authors who believe that sexuality and gender are totally dissociated issues and have thus received criticism from Butler (2005), who deems this total separation as a misguided stance. We recognize that both issues of sexuality and gender can be analyzed from multiple perspectives, associated or not, particularly from the perspective of work.

For more conservative scholars to discuss sexuality and work would be to mix public and private, personal and professional life, which is methodologically inappropriate. With a conceived notion such as this, there is the assumption that work is only that which takes place in the public realm, leaving out domestic, sexual, and reproductive work. Moreover, determining identities based on sexuality would be relegated to the family plan and kinship relationships (Butler 2016). However, the influence of work on sexuality and vice versa is stronger than can be imagined, especially in Brazil, where the influence of family relationships on work is well-known, since its colonization has led to a confusion between the public and the private and a stamp of informality with predominance of family work – backyard companies.

A touchy subject that often causes discomfort is the fluidity of sexual orientations and identities. Some authors and identity movements want to believe that they are fixed and biologically determined. However, studies that demonstrate the fluidity in sexual orientation and identity are not new. Although they are not widely publicized, there are dozens of them that have been conducted with sailors at sea, inmates, and offshore oil rigs. The fact is that the flexibility of heteronormativity was already a well-known phenomenon in the scientific community. Among these investigations, the biggest and most relevant in Brazil over the last 5 years was a study published by Dráuzio Varella.

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redistribution, so it was easier to win support with guidelines for identity recognition.

[14] Heteronormativity – normative social principle that dictates rules on how people should relate sexually and the social roles that each compete with each other according to sex and gender.

In a study conducted over 11 years as a doctor at a women's prison, Varella (2017) confirms the phenomenon of an adaptation and fluidity of sexual orientation, which may lead to the construction of new identities that are determined, and are determinants of the social role of its actors. In the women's prison, the author noted that heterosexual women changed their sexual orientation as a way of gaining privileged positions within the local hierarchy. The 'butch', 'dyke', '*mariazinha*', 'lipstick lesbian', according to the author, inside the female prison are more than forms of sexual relationships between prisoners, they are defining roles of hierarchy in the prison.[15] It also suggests that the hierarchy of power within the female prison defined by sexuality implies work assignments: those who work in the kitchen, cleaning, bathrooms, organizing cells etc. A division of labor that occurs not from biological sex, since they are all women, but because of sexuality and sexual roles. It also points out that some of those who end up leaving the prison, especially those identified as 'lipstick lesbians', identify themselves again as heterosexuals and to have straight marital relationships. A rather significant finding drawn from the study by Varella (2017) concerns the hierarchical structure of the female prison, which reveals that, even in a microcosm made up only of women, the difference imposed by sexual roles remains. In this sense, the flexibility of heteronormativity can benefit women, but only those who are willing to abandon the female role, as Butler (2003) pointed out. Another aspect that we consider relevant in this author's research is the confusion of the intimate space with the working space inside the female prison, as what occurs on ships at sea, work on oil platforms, and male prisons – places where older research shows the same fluidity in sexual orientation and identity.

According to Butler (2016) heteronormativity plays the role of guaranteeing the reproduction of labor for capital, but how to sustain it in a world of work that is entering industry 4.0 (Schwab 2016) with increasingly less need for labor reproduction and a greater scarcity of job vacancies. As stated by Braga (2018) "with the advances in robotics, microelectronics, logistics, we will have situations in which the presence of workers on the production lines in industries will trend towards a decline", so capital can choose to encourage the flexibility of heteronormativity and support new identities based on sexuality. Said *modus operandi* can provide more control over the working class, because it divides it even more than the classic gender division (man x woman)[16] and diversifies its agendas and demands. Such fragmentation makes it possible for capital to superficially meet recognition guidelines by creating identity quotas (with a salary lower than that paid overall, as in the case of the pharmacy chain) at the expense of labor guidelines. This contradicts Butler's (2016) thesis, which states that the flexibilization of heteronormativity would constitute a type of struggle against the capitalist system. Fraser (2017) asserts that recognition issues imply both immaterial and material results and, when both do not occur, it is a false recognition.

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[15] Women who are members of *Comando Vermelho* criminal organization are forbidden from engaging in homosexual relationships, due to the risk of the gang's loss of authority over them. This is also a condition that exempts them from paying a monthly fee to *Comando* – everyone in *Comando Vermelho* pays a monthly fee to them. Varella (2017) reports that the majority of inmates enter the prison due to crimes committed in the presence of heterosexual relationships, like trafficking drugs for their partner, and that once they are arrested, they are totally abandoned by them and the other family members. Their new family becomes the prison, and its love relationships are shaped by homo-affection. The author does not believe that the reason for the shift in sexual orientation is male disappointment and abandonment, but rather the discovery of freedom in a world only of women who have never had it outside the walls of a prison.

[16] We may assume that this division would only take place between straight and non-straight men and women, but the idea that LGBTQ forms a unified and cohesive movement is illusory. Within this identity, there are many more rivalries than partnerships. For example, the rivalry between lesbians and transsexual women within the lesbian movements, as well as in the feminist movement, is historical. Bisexuals, despite circulating between heterosexuals and homosexuals, complain about the mistrust of both groups towards them. The 'discreet' gay person avoids approaching the 'affected' gay person, while the lesbian 'truck driver' or 'butch' is rejected by the 'lipstick lesbians' who prefer to only interact with each other and do not want to approach anyone with any remnants of present or past masculinity. This information clearly does not constitute an absolute truth, and there are exceptions based on the observations made in these groups, which, as the research itself reveals, is very fluid and fragmented.

> Butler's premise is indeed true, but her conclusion does not hold. She assumes that injustices based on false recognition must be immaterial and not economic. Leaving aside, for the moment, her combination of the material with the economic, her assumption is wrong in both respects. In my view, injustices based on false recognition are as material as injustices of unequal distribution. The former is rooted in social standards of interpretation, evaluation, and communication, therefore, if desired, in the symbolic order. But this does not mean that they are 'merely' symbolic (Fraser 2017:283).

We can understand the flexibilization of heteronormativity in Brazil, to a greater extent, as a movement responding to the need for capital domination over workers. However, it is not a 'lack of recognition', as Fraser (2017) points out, because it leads to some civil rights advances that benefit the LGBTQ community, such as the right to civil marriage, inheritance, death pension and more recently the criminalization of LGBT phobia. Although they do not translate into better working conditions and income, the right to civil marriage, inheritance, and pension are immaterial and material results, and even with the interpretation given by Fraser (2017), they cannot be considered a false recognition.

In addition to technological advancement, less demand for labor and flexible heteronormativity, this new world of work leads to precarious labor relations that create, according to Antunes (2018), a 'digital easement' that strips workers out of formal labor and tosses them into informality, much of it working in the family's own home or vehicle. This condition increases the influence of the family sphere on work, consequently increasing the influence of work on sexuality and vice versa, which leads us to re-evaluate sentences that separate the domestic family world from the productive world (sexuality x work) in our sociological analyses. We must also consider that a neoliberal rationality (Dardot & Laval 2016) organizes this precarious/digital society and converts workers into 'companies', not entrepreneurs, and this makes all the difference. A company needs to be open to serving everyone. It cannot discriminate between men and women or straight and non-straight, and when the company needs to assimilate this disposition, this will have an impact on their sexual identity (but not necessarily sexual orientation).

The impact of these changes[17] on society can be seen in the intimacy of couples who feel discouraged towards romantic and productive love and opt for confluent love (Giddens 1993) for sexuality. In intimacy, many couples (especially those with better access to information) assimilate the flexibility of heteronormativity as another form of 'depreciation of the love issue'[18] (Freud 1912). This shift in intimacy[19] demands a more diversified sex market and implies changes in the sexual identity of professionals in the sector – which may lead to the option for bisexual identity[20].

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[17] Initially, sexuality is shaken by the sexual revolution, followed by health guidelines arising from the emergence of HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus), then by LGBTQ demands on the right to sexuality, and more recently, and no less important, by the lack of incentives for reproduction through environmental and technological discourses.

Veronesi (2008) believes that, from the biological point of view, the human species is moving towards a single sex, including within the reproductive hormonal pattern, as the diversity in reproduction provided by science rendering the sex of people who relate to each other irrelevant, and this also leads to an increased diversity in sexual relations, which he believes will be mostly bisexual within 50 years and only for displays of affection.

4 I CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis did not intend to give answers or make value judgments as to what is right (or wrong) in terms of labor activities, sexual orientation, identity, or collective action, nor to affirm that the sexual identity of all workers is ever fluid. We do want to point out that: there are tipping points between sexuality and work and heteronormativity is one of them; that the return of work to the family sphere with precariousness and digital informality leads to new connections between sexuality and work; that sexuality builds identities that can really have an impact on work, particularly in the results of workers' collective actions, and that the capitalist system can use them to increase their profits and dismantle the collective action of the working class.

We want to reflect on the consequences of overlapping the family and work spheres (brought on by shifts in the world of work) on the sexual identity and collective action of workers to reflect on the effects of heteronormativity and its flexibility in the world of work. We emphasize the importance of denaturalizing the connection between orientation and sexual identity, and of understanding that sexual identity is a symbolic construction shared

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18 Freud (1912) in his article 'On the universal tendency to debase in the sphere of love' talks about the use of debasement of the loving partner in constant comparison with the maternal figure to escape castration. It would be especially necessary for men to maintain sexual desire for their partner to avoid intimacy and detach it from the mother's image. Physical and psychological violence would derive from this mechanism, extramarital relationships (with lovers or prostitutes), 'child perversions' can also play this role. It is worth noting that Freud classified practices, currently accepted as being normal by psychoanalysis, as child perversions, such as homosexuality and polyamory. This author classifies 'perversion' as 'the reverse of neurosis'.

19 With these changes in intimacy, sex for reproduction is no longer central. Confluent love and eroticism are more valued (Giddens 1993), creating the understanding that the marital relationship needs to be permanently revived and sexual relationship revitalized, as well as female pleasure reclaimed. In view of this situation, a whole market appears for this purpose, from sex therapies, sex shop companies to sexual services for couples. Here the idea sold is to combat the traditional way of maintaining marriage with the castration of women and the practice of male extramarital sexuality, adopting permanent 'depreciation' as a way to escape castration, without violence, and ensuring the right to feminine pleasure (including people and/or erotic artifacts into the marital home, under the banner of saving the marriage). This opening leads to a relaxation of female heterosexuality that, according to Freud (1912), in principle, is secondary to the woman's inability to couple herself with the mother (primordial object of the libido). These changes in intimacy would be telling this woman 'see, you can', and leading to changes in the sexual orientation of married women.

20 "The man is losing his characteristics and tends to become a sexually ambiguous figure, while the woman is becoming more masculine. In this way, society evolves towards a unique model. (…) Bisexuality will be the price to pay for the natural evolution of the human species. And I think the price is positive"(Veronesi 2008). Some authors argue that sexual orientation is genetic and fixed, we will not stick to them in this debate since our research question is less in the relationship between sexual orientation/identity sexual and more in the relationship between sexual identity/work – as shown in the studies by Varella (2017) sexual orientation is not necessarily linked to sexual identity.

socially and does not always correspond to the practices of intimacy.

From everything we have debated thus far, we have gathered that knowing that there is room to maneuverer in sexual identities, sexual diversity can be pushed by capital to the center of the debate to shift the focus of the struggle from the working class to identity agendas (whose services do not lead to financial burdens on the capital) and weaken their struggle for labor rights, as well as use it for union disarticulation by promoting identity movements. The unions can, like the capitalist system itself, learn about and use this information for the benefit of the worker and the union movement.

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CAPÍTULO 3

CAMGIRL AND THE UBERIZATION OF SEX WORK ON THE INTERNET IN BRAZIL

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ABSTRACT: The research topic concerns the provision of female erotic services via the internet in Brazil. Its subject is the practice of a Web Striper, WebCam Model, or Camgirl performed by women who offer to fulfil customer requests online from a simple chat to performing a strip tease, masturbating or simulating sex in front of a webcam. It should not be confused with prostitution, as there is no physical contact between the performer / customer, but classified as “tele-sex”. The activity involving a Camgirl is widespread on adult or “18+” websites on the Internet, with a variety of preferences related to age, nationality, gender, sexual orientation and preferences. In this article, we limit the scope of the research to models aged 18 to 35 years old in Brazil. The intent of the research on this topic is to insert it into the socio- anthropological and legal debate about sex work, and apply this to a discussion on new labor relations in the sex market – entrepreneurship, self-employment, disguised employment relationships and “uberization”. The questions that are relevant to the research include “What types of work, concepts and innovations are involved in the activity of a Camgirl?”; “What determines the success of a model in this sector?”; “What concepts link information technology to sex work on the Internet?”. [As this is a research in progress, a great deal of work has been done in the year since the approval of the initial abstract and there were some changes made to the abstract presented initially]. Up to the current stage of the research, we have worked under the hypothesis that the Camgirl profession is an occupation within the field of restructured pornography, with demands for self-employment and disguised employment relationships, and this activity links information technology and sex work through the concepts of neo- liberal rationality and uberization. The methodology is grounded in a variety of techniques, but mainly in semi-structured interviews and virtual ethnography.

KEYWORDS: Neoliberal Rationality; Sex Work; Uberization.

1 I INTRODUCTION

> If, in the processes of capitalism, work turns into prostitution and representation into pornography, it is possible to understand sexualized bodies as products of the prostitution regimes of the market and of the image (PAVEZ; KRAUSHAAR, 2011).

This article deals with qualitative research related to the activity of a Camgirl or WebCam Model, through which we also investigate the strategies employed by the pornographic "industry" running this service. There are three essential roles needed to conduct the activity of a WebCam Model; a model, an administrator of virtual platforms and a recruiter of models. A virtual platform is a website with server capacity that hosts third party pages – example: Facebook, Instagram, and others. Both the model and the recruiter have a room on the virtual platforms. "Rooms" are webpages that are set up to transmit text, audio and video online, and are hosted on virtual platforms. On smaller websites, the administrator and the recruiter can be the same person. However, on larger platforms they are always different people, because these mega-platforms host the smaller ones (platforms hosting platforms). The recruiter's room is not visible to the public as it operates through links and forms, and only the model's virtual room is seen by the average user. In this research, we have focused on the role of the models and make only brief forays into the roles of administrator and recruiter.

Access to a Camgirl is simple and easy. The customer enters the site, typically led by other sites dedicated to pornographic content where advertising about Camgirls are broadcast (either in the form of a pop-up or in the menu section of the porn site that links directly to the model's webpage). Upon entering the Camgirl's website, the customer joins a public virtual room where the model can be viewed and the customer can suggest activities for her to perform. This public area has lower prices (around R$ 1.35 / minute) and offers erotic activities that are less explicit. If interested, the customer can request exclusive attention from the model in a private chat (around R$ 2.40 / minute), and make more intimate and sexually-oriented requests like suggesting that she move around, dance, take off or put on clothes, use erotic toys etc., as long as it does not infringe on the rules of the house. These rules are established by the model or by the platform that hosts her virtual room, and they concern what she is or is not willing to offer. The models or websites that host their rooms (platform companies) dictate which requests are permitted or prohibited in the respective rooms. If the rule is not respected, the customer is disconnected. In most rooms, the restrictions are related to abusive, violent or bizarre sex (commonly zoophilia and sadomasochism). There are also models who are only available to chat and act like a virtual girlfriend, with no further explicit sexual activity. The activity should not be confused with prostitution. It is more a type of tele-sex – offering a sexual service remotely – with characteristics that draw it closer to pornography, but not traditional pornography. The customer is no longer a mere spectator, but an actor and director of the scenes. At first, we classify this activity as "interactive online pornography", due to the particular characteristics that differentiate it from related activities (prostitution, pornography and erotic dancing). The objective of this investigation is to incorporate the theme into the socio- anthropological and legal debate on sex work, and to contribute to it by introducing analyses on the "shared economy" or "uberized" model applied to the Internet sex market. We have specifically investigated uberization in pornography, where the activity under study is inserted. However, the sharing model, which is presented in the form of a platform company, also mediates services offered by other sex professionals such as prostitutes and hustlers in Brazil – via apps that are similar to those used by taxis and / or passenger service companies like "Uber". To achieve this objective, we have raised a few questions: "What work practices, concepts and innovations are involved in the Camgirl activity?"; "What concepts link information technology to sex work on the Internet?". The assumption we are working under is that the activity of a Camgirl is a type of tele-sex practice that links technology and sex work through the concepts of neoliberal rationality and uberization (which will be further addressed in topic II).

2 | THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Up to now, there have been no studies found in Brazil in the field of Sociology of Work regarding sex work, nor any discussion concerning the activity of a Camgirl, but merely sociological discussions along the lines of gender and sexuality that focus on pornography and / or prostitution.

Why should this topic be studied and retrieved from obscurity? How important can a study of sex workers on the Internet be? It is the duty of the researcher to unveil what is behind the public eye. What is obscured from view can have a lot to reveal about the society we share. It is done in the incontinence of what is shown and hidden, or hidden so that its emergence becomes a marketable product, as is the case with Camgirls. It is possible that the invisibility of this activity is a labor strategy, due to the stigma attached to sex workers and issues involving the security of models, but it may be, largely, the result of the obscenity status imposed on the activities linked to sex. The obscene is what society does not allow to surface to the social scene, but permits it to exist within the limits determined by it. Pornography and prostitution, for example, are tolerated within the social spaces reserved for them and their access restricted for the general public (MORAES, 2013). However, when they take to the streets or to the public eye, they are condemned and rejected by those who use them. This social treaty on obscenity seems to also be applicable in Brazilian academia where, despite the fact that prostitution has existed since the country's colonization and that legislation on sex work has been on the books for over 5 years, there have been no studies to date on sex workers from the Sociology of Work perspective. These studies are sparse even in anthropology. One of the most frequently referenced is the work of Diàz-Benitez (2010) who demonstrates in detail the functioning of organized sex work in a network that involves prostitution, pornography and erotic dancing (strip tease) in Brazil. Judging by the output of research, sex work does not receive due attention from the Sociology of Work, even after its regulation in Brazil. It is reasonable to infer that this activity is granted the same status given to desire and pleasure that are relegated to the sphere of intimacy. In his work *Desejos Digitais* (Digital Desires), Miskolci (2017) draws attention to the invisibility of desire in Sociology, which relegates it to the sphere of private life, disregarding all its power on the level of the social order. Illouz (2014) also points out that sexuality and sex must be central issues for sociologists, who must refrain from making value judgments in their analyses. These epistemological positions call Sociology's attention to sexual activity as a sociological subject, taking it out of the private sphere. This helps to understand sex as work, given the notion that work is something placed in the "public eye" (GORZ, 2007) and is useful to other individuals in addition to those who have produced it. With the advent of the Internet and the possibility of providing sexual services in a virtual manner, the division between the public and the private / intimate / domestic scene has become quite tenuous, and there is no denying the public nature of what is published on the Internet.

> Today we live in a world where relationships are increasingly mediated by technology, which makes the fallacy of real / virtual opposition apparent and the existence of an online / offline continuum is increasingly clearer. Oppositions between private and public, subjectivity and community life seem to be progressively eroded without having coined a new analytical vocabulary from which we can understand our new context and ourselves (MISKOLCI, 2017, p. 677-678).

The common view in Brazil still perceives sex work as a crime or a criminal offense. However, the most well-known and long-standing sex work is prostitution, and this has never been a crime under Brazilian law (Brazil, 2017). This confusion arises from the criminalization of "pimps" or promoting prostitution (Art. 230 of the Brazilian Penal Code), which are indeed classified as a crime in the Brazilian Penal Code. The activity of a Camgirl is not prostitution, so profiteering from it is not considered a crime.

Sex work was regulated in Brazil in 2012 and classified in the Brazilian Classification of Occupations (CBO) under code 5198-05 that identifies the prostitute, the hustler and other sex workers. In addition to these, there was another type of sex work that received an official classification, this by the National Classification of Economic Activities (CNAE) – the Sex Hotline / Tele-Sex / Friendship Hotline under the number 96090. Although a portion of society does not consider sex work to be a job, the Brazilian government recognizes it as such. The question is "What line of work is this?". It can be stated that, according to the concepts adopted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the activity of a Camgirl could fall under a "paid occupation" and / or a business venture, which leads to the concept of "entrepreneurship" that will be addressed below.

> The enterprise, the institution, the entity, the firm, the business etc., was defined as an enterprise, or work performed without an establishment, performed individually or with the help of other people (employees, partners or unpaid workers). By convention, work in paid domestic services was deemed an enterprise, regardless of the number of households in which the person provided this service. (IBGE, 2016, p. 21).

It is known that a business venture is linked to a market and can include many different types of work. The venture that constitutes the activity of a Camgirl is embedded in the virtual pornography market and strives in flexible and autonomous forms of work. This prevailing model in pornography publicized on the Internet was only possible due to external and internal structural changes to the individual.

> [...] capital began a process of reorganizing its forms of societal domination, not only seeking to reorganize the productive process in capitalist terms, but also seeking to manage a project to regain hegemony in many different spheres of sociability. It was done, for example, at the ideological level, through the cult of a subjectivism and a fragmentary ideology that makes an apology for individualism exacerbated against forms of solidarity and collective and social action (ANTUNES, 1999, p. 47-48).

Laval (2016) calls this subjectivist ideology Antunes (1999) was referring to as "neoliberal rationality" which is expressed in its extreme form by inculcating the idea of company as a form of subjectivity in the subjects.

> [...] neoliberalism, before an economic political ideology is, first and foremost, a rationality; consequently, it tends to structure and organize, not only the action of the governors, but also the conduct of the governed themselves. The main characteristic of neoliberal rationality is the generalization of competence as a standard of conduct and of the company as a model of subjectivation (LAVAL, DARDOT, 2009, p.15).

The model of a platform-company and "sharing" (SLEE, 2017) is easily absorbed by workers due to the neoliberal rationality that tends to transform it into a subject-company and to make them believe, among other things, in the so-called shared economy where everyone wins. "The subject-company standard does not concern anyone who considers themselves an entrepreneur, but rather an individual whose subjectivation and self-representation embraces the model of running and rationalizing a company" (LAVAL et al., 2009). The economics of sharing involves prioritizing access to the detriment of owning goods and services. Why buy a car if you just need to go from one place to another? Why buy a house when I can just rent one? Why purchase a drill when all I need is a hole in the wall? Sharing the use of a good seems like a solid and wonderfully economical idea. Instead of leaving the drill stored at home, I share its use and profit from it, while the borrower does not need to invest a hefty amount of money in equipment that would only be used a few times and then put away (idle money). This requires trust between the users: trust that the drill will be returned, that the driver of the shared car will not damage it, that the house reserved at the desired location really exists. This trust, in theory, is guaranteed by evaluation systems in applications used to connect those who have an item or service to offer and those who want to access it (SLEE, 2017). In the specific case of the activity in question, the sharing occurs in the use of digital mega-platforms, which makes advertising models cheaper.

One of the questions raised in the survey concerns the classification of a Camgirl's activity in the labor market: employment, self-employment or entrepreneurship. In many cases, this work can be regarded as a form of self-employment, where the worker directly performs the activity, creates her own working conditions and has all the capital needed for the activity. However, in other cases, in addition to self-employment, she also employs other models and profits from their work, making the activity more of an entrepreneurship. However, when the model occupies a virtual room on a specialized platform (in the case of the models interviewed) that handles a large portion of the activity, such as: distribution, advertising, collection and payment for the service provided, the practice resembles more of an employment relationship – especially in the case of exclusive models who work up to 40 hours a week. In these cases, the requirements established in the Brazilian labor legislation remain in place: personality, habituality, burdensomeness and subordination, since this model is subject to the rules of the platform and is prohibited from doing certain things under orders by her administrator, such as using the room to solicit a customer for prostitution or fulfil certain customer fantasies. Many of these rules are imposed under the pretense of protecting the model's identity and physical well-being, but they represent a subordinate relationship insofar as the model is obliged to comply with them, under penalty of being suspended from the virtual platform room. Lima (2008) points out that self-employment sold as a promise of autonomy and freedom is almost never an option for the worker. It is a lack of employment options and, coupled with the idea of self-employment, entrepreneurship arises, which sells capitalism as an egalitarian model (LIMA, 2008, p. 9). This same author associates the concepts of precariousness, flexibility and informality with the categories of self-employment and entrepreneurship (LIMA, 2009). According to an analysis by Burchel et al. (1992) the categories of self-employment and entrepreneurship may often appear overlapping depending on how the activity is analyzed, with the inclusion or elimination of variables in the analysis, such as: autonomy, subordination, ownership of the means of production, management of the business, direct provision of services, hiring employees, accountability for risks, the labor role of the owner etc. The more variables that are included, the more the concepts of self-employment and entrepreneurship are broadened (BURCHEL et al., 1992). Accordingly, the activity of a Camgirl may be categorized as self-employment in some cases, and in others, it will be classified as entrepreneurship or an employment relationship. However, considering the concept of self-employment by the International Labor Organization (ILO) which includes small-scale individual entrepreneurs who serve in the same labor role as their employees in addition to managing the company (ILO, 1993, p. 2-3), all different types of a Camgirl's activity can be classified as self-employment, with the exception of those that entail being fully committed to a specific digital platform. Faced with a demanding and unrewarding job market, self-employment or entrepreneurship using information technology is a seductive proposal. Especially for some women who are willing to give up their privacy and are not intimidated by sharing their intimacy virtually with people looking for company and pleasure. It is important not to lose sight of the fact that this is an activity primarily pursued by young women who work on their own. This leads the research to the subcategory of youth entrepreneurship. Regarding this issue, a recent study by Bega (2015) notes that:

> Essentially, it may seem that, in the fringes and rifts found in contemporary capitalism, a "space" for creativity and (dis) alienation from work is being proposed. My perception is that there is, in fact, acknowledgment of the impossibility of occupying a young contingent in the still dominant model of work. Consequently, entrepreneurship falls like a soft and malleable glove to other forms of exploitation (BEGA, 2015, p. 11).

The low quality of jobs available to young people appears in statements given by interviewees who refer to low wages and an excessive number of hours dedicated to traditional jobs as a motivation to choose the Camgirl activity. In most of the cases observed, situations involving self-employment and disguised employment relationships are the most recurrent.

3 I METHODOLOGY

The research methodology is qualitative and involves mapping out forms, contexts and work structures that facilitate the activity of a Camgirl on the Internet in Brazil. To do so, we combined research techniques that could help us discover what is behind the webcam where the models of virtual sex work are shown. Initially, virtual ethnography helped me to get a detailed understanding of the websites and products offered in this activity, the presentations available in the models' profiles and the interaction of customers with these presentations and the performances offered by them. From that point, we selected a group of 10 women to interview between the ages of 18 and 35 who work in open rooms in

Brazil. We also interviewed two administrators of platform sites. Other techniques were also used in the research for the thesis. However, the data compiled for this article was produced from the combination of these two techniques; semi-structured interviews and virtual ethnography. The analyses built from this data is demonstrated in the next topic. The categories used here, such as self-employment, entrepreneurship, disguised employment, as well as the concept of “uberization” are constructed through interpretations made by us and based on the facts described by the models in the interviews. However, at no time are these terms explicit for them. When asked, “What is your job?” or “Where do you work?”, the unanimous responses were “I am a webcam model” or “I work for website X”. Nevertheless, in the description of their work routines and forms of hiring, the relevance of such categories and concepts is demonstrated.

4 I ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

An activity or work does not exist independently from a producer or consumer market. This is also true for the work of a Camgirl, making it necessary to establish this activity and its market within the economy to which it belongs. The activity of the webcam model is regulated in Brazil as “tele-sex” and is part of a market, a sector of an economy regarded here as the “sexual economy” (PISCITELLI, 2016). We identified two central sectors in the sexual economy: sex-related products and services and the provision of sexual services, with each of these sectors possessing specific markets.

SEXUAL ECONOMY		
PRODUCTS AND SERVICES FOR SEX		
Therapies and Interventions	Sex Education	Sexual Encounters
Neuropsicalitic	Education and Awareness on the Possibilities and Risks of Sexual Practice.	Apps for Sexual Encounters (ex: Fuckbook)
Psychological	Family Planning	Sex Tourism
‘Alternatives’	Sexuality	Saunas
Medicinal		Swing Clubs
Surgical		Sexual Accessories
		Erotic Songs and Dances

I – PRODUCTS AND SERVICES FOR SEX

Author, 2017.

SEXUAL ECONOMY	
SEXUAL PRODUCTS AND SERVICES	
Intercourse	Masturbation
Prostitution (Prostitutes and Escorts)	Pornography (Movies, Printed Material and Porn Sites)
Erotic Massage	Tele-sex (WebCam Model, Phone Sex)
	Strip Tease (Erotic Dancing)

II – SEXUAL PRODUCTS AND SERVICES

Author, 2017.

PORNOGRAPHY	
Tele-sex	
Camgirl / WebCam Model	
Number of Models in the Virtual Room	1 Woman; 1 Man; 2 Women or more; 2 Men or more.
Gender	Female, Male, Transgender
Biological Sex	Female, Male, Transsexual
Age Groups	“Teen”, “Middle-Aged”, “Moms”, Among Other Denominations
Nationality	Asian, Hispanic, African Descent, Swedish etc.
Sexual Orientation	Heterosexual, Homosexual, Bisexual
Sexual Preferences	Voyeurs, Foot Fetishists, Pregnant Women, Threesomes, Orgies etc.
Working Time on the Website	Beginners and Veterans
Engagement Method	Occasional and Exclusive
Service Offered	Girlfriend, Sugar Baby, Strip Tease, Hardcore, Dominatrix etc.

III – CAMMING PERFORMANCE

Author, 2017.

The most significant characteristic of the sector of products and services focused on sex is the intermediation of sexual relations between third parties, either in getting the interested parties together, or in assistance through education, stimulating products and / or facilitators. There is no provision of direct sexual service between the attendant and the customer, nor is there sexual contact between the workers. As can be seen in Table II, there are two very distinct branches in the sexual services sector, that of sex and onanism (masturbation). In the first, there is physical contact between the customer and the attendant, and / or between the workers. In the second, there is no physical contact between the attendant and the customer, but there may be between the workers – such as cinema and printed pornography.

All the above categorizations are taken from the information contained in the “menus” on the platforms where the virtual rooms of the webcam models are hosted. In this table, we attempted to identify the position of a Camgirl’s activity within the sexual economy, in its reference market and sector to which it belongs, in addition to classifying it as tele-sex and describing its subdivisions, its actors, forms of presentation and the types of services provided.

The young Camgirls here are called “models” because the interviewees call themselves “models”. However, the activity that these young women perform is much closer to the work of an actress than a model, notably because their performance for customers involves creating a character that is separate from their own personality.

5 I CONCLUSIONS

Through the virtual ethnography and the interviews conducted, we realized that these young women, when they work alone, develop, sustain and operate their own websites; they create text or audio-visual homemade presentations and operating rules for chatting. The rules can change from one site to another, as they can be defined by the model or by the platform that makes the virtual rooms available to the models and publicizes the business, and for this service, they charge 5% to 40% of what the young women receive from customers. These platforms create and publish advertisements to promote models on the internet and deal with other sites that run their advertising. Many young women who have their own websites also use the platform to become known. The platforms have a broader reach when it comes to distributing advertising and more user traffic on the Internet. In Brazil, the leading platforms in this genre are *CameraHot* and *CameraPrivê*. At the international level, the largest and best-known platform is in the United States, it is *Myfreecams*, which hosts platforms from various parts of the world, including Brazilian ones. The work routine of these young women can be described as flexible. There is no obligation to comply with schedules or work hours, but when the young woman spends a lot of time offline, her profile drops down to pages further away from the entrance of the website. This reduces her competitiveness, which could force her to work at least once a week in her virtual room. The models who do not consider this to be their primary professional activity (8 / 10 of the interviewees) work an average of 15 hours per week (3 hours / day) and receive about R$6,000.00 (six thousand reais) per month, working 5 days a week. Prices are determined in minutes and run between R$1.35 (group chat) and R$2.40 (private chat) on Brazilian platforms.

Those who “work shifts” can earn around R$20,000.00 per month – according to information from platform administrators, about 10% of workers in this activity work up to 40 hours a week. In addition to earning money for the time they spend performing for the customer in the virtual room, they also earn cash gifts given to them by customers and can also earn extra cash by selling their photos and videos, doing scheduled shows, participating in erotic reality shows and tradeshows for erotic products. Many models are anonymous and do not show their faces or hide them with masks, but the anonymity strategy is not used by all models. Some consider the job to be like that of an artist and openly exhibit themselves by creating characters that are widely publicized on the internet. Over the course of the year and four months we spent observing and researching Camgirls and the platforms they work on, we noticed a significant increase in the commission charged by platforms on what the models earn, resulting in a decrease in the pay that the models receive. In June 2016, the platform that charged the highest commission stipulated rates of around 30% of earnings, now reaching 45% when the model is exclusive to a specific digital platform. The tightening of the rules is also evident. In an attempt to keep the models from attracting customers for themselves, displaying advertisements using the model's email, mobile phone numbers or Facebook is forbidden. As more models register on a specific platform, it becomes hegemonic and they gain a monopoly on that activity, because it attracts more user traffic and the models become more and more dependent on the platform to work. This in turn increases their price and their profits. What appeared to be an associationism, cooperativism or sharing of the cyberspace instead reveals itself a concentrator of wealth and power, removing autonomy and the free choice of workers and customers. This phenomenon is repeated on platforms such as Uber and others that advocate the sharing economy as a fairer form of work and consumption, but which has proved to be a strong ally of capitalism that uses it as a way to circumvent labor and tax laws.

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CAPÍTULO 4

COVID-19 AND DOCTORAL RESEARCH IN BRAZIL AND PORTUGAL: WHO PAYS THE BILL FOR CONFINEMENT AND REMOTE WORK IN RESEARCH?

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ABSTRACT: The Covid-19 pandemic has brought about several changes to doctoral programs due to the prohibition of face-to-face activities. This situation has generated many difficulties but has also facilitated research activities in Sociology in Brazil and Portugal. This essay discusses the changes introduced in sociological research and the main strategy found to overcome the difficulties – remote work – with the aim of raising questions for a research agenda on the subject. The notes and analyses presented here are produced from participant observation and full participation as an academic linked to three universities, where I had access to remote work data and operational notes issued by these universities during the pandemic. In these observations, I have identified that the professors, technicians and researchers pay the bill for remote work in the doctorate programs, and that the pandemic affects researchers unequally, depending on their gender, the stage of the course they are in, whether the academic relationship is national or foreign, whether they receive a scholarship or not, and whether they are at home or on student mobility.

KEYWORDS: Changes, Covid-19, doctoral research, remote work.

1 I INTRODUCTION

The Covid-19 pandemic caused the suspension of classroom (face-to-face) activities at universities, including doctoral courses. Within the scope of student mobility, the pandemic has seriously affected international students due to the closure of borders, travel restrictions and suspension of scholarships to support international research. Activities were resumed remotely through conference calls and messaging applications. These remote work tools that were already being used in teaching and research activities became the main source of communication in projects and research that had already been started in early 2020. However, the pandemic did not uniformly impact all researchers and academics in doctoral courses. Some encountered many difficulties, while others found it easier. I speak in this essay as a student, because I am doing a doctorate at a Brazilian university and a doctoral internship (and also a master's degree) in Portugal – I am one of the few Brazilian researchers who has managed to do a PhD internship in Portugal and maintain a research scholarship during the pandemic. These countries were selected according to the location of the educational institutions to which I am linked and because they focus on the field of my doctoral research. I did not experience any loss in the doctoral research routine. This is because my research already involved distance work, with field research carried out in 2018. In addition, I arrived in Portugal before the beginning of the first confirmations of Covid-19 in Brazil and Portugal. I did not encounter any major losses especially because my doctoral research was approaching the final stage. For the Master’s in Law at the University of Porto, I did not suffer losses because legal work can be carried out remotely.

The implementation of remote work in the universities to which I am linked – Federal University of Paraná, Brazil (PhD in Sociology), Institute of Social Sciences/ULisboa, Portugal (PhD Internship) and Faculty of Law, University of Porto, Portugal (Master in Law) – facilitated the progress of the research. Short trips and live activities in Portugal were canceled, without compromising the investigation. The support of the CAPES scholarship was relevant to continuing the investigation and to remain on Portuguese soil. However, my personal experience should not be confused with the reality of most researchers. The Covid-19 pandemic introduced many complications to the research, especially for female researchers.

2 I DIFFICULTIES IMPOSED BY THE PANDEMIC ON RESEARCH

The primary challenges faced by researchers in Brazil involved cuts to resources and scholarships in research applied by the Brazilian government (Soares 2020). The sectors that managed to continue their projects with the scarce resources available had to adapt, both as a result of the lack of resources and because of the constraints that had arisen since March 2020 as a result of the Coronavirus pandemic in the country. The shift in research, teaching and learning activities took place unexpectedly and lacked financial support from the Government to introduce remote work that started to be carried out at the researcher’s home (Bridi et al. 2020).

The research trips that would have taken place in April were suspended, as well as the respective doctoral internship grants allocated for this purpose. Only researchers who were already located outside of Brazil on March 26, 2020, when the outbreak began in the country, continued their pending international research through remote work. However, the melding of the academic and domestic space raised several issues, especially for female researchers who took over domestic duties during this period and lost support in the form of cleaning services and fast-food delivery (Bridi et al. 2020). The researchers, in addition to bearing the cost, also faced problems adapting to this methodology. Some academics are facing difficulties in doing research without the physical structure of the University, this mainly affecting international students and female researchers.

The pandemic particularly affected the production of scientific research by female researchers in Brazil (Candido & Campos 2020). An internal survey, by DADOS magazine, reveals a drop in the submission of scientific articles by women (from 38% to 13%) in the second quarter of 2020 (Fig. 1).

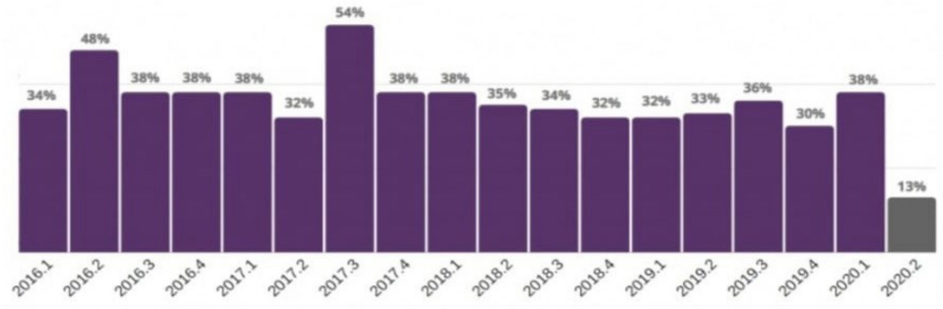

Fig. 1. Relative number of female first authors who signed manuscripts submitted to DADOS magazine per quarter (2016–2020) (Candido & Campos 2020).

However, co-authorship emerged as a strategy for women to circumvent the effects of the pandemic, which had prevented them from continuing to produce articles alone (Candido & Campos 2020). I emphasize that the methodology of gender identification in this research consists of classifying the authors by names common to men and women and assumes a margin of error of 4%. However, gender diversity is not included in this methodology.

I also emphasize that the difference in scientific production based on gender was not created by the pandemic but aggravated by it. In Portugal, researchers also had to bear the costs of transitioning from the university's face-to- face activities to the remote method. However, perhaps the most significant obstacle has occurred in the area of student mobility, with the closure of borders and the suspension of activities at universities. International students have experienced more difficulties because they depend on the support of the physical structure of the Universities and have subsequently had to deal with restrictions and uncertainties regarding the alternative of returning to their countries of origin (Reis 2020). Remaining is difficult but returning also entails costs that not all researchers are able to afford. Until August 2020, they had no idea how long classroom activities would be suspended – in August, the resumption of school activities was scheduled for September.

Being a native of the country where they were doing their doctorate was not exactly easy for researchers during the quarantine in Portugal. There were difficulties faced by Portuguese researchers, but they had slightly more stability due to the assertive way in which Portugal instituted measures to control the pandemic. In Brazil, the Federal Government created more problems than it managed, the divergent approaches that each state government took to control the health generated much anxiety among researchers.

3 I FACILITIES INTRODUCED BY THE PANDEMIC IN DOCTORAL RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

The most significant advantage that doctoral research obtained with the confinement of a large part of the population based in Brazil and Portugal was the increased availability of people to answer questionnaires and grant interviews online. Research conducted in Brazil on remote work reveals that social distancing has triggered the need in people to share their experiences and feelings, which is quite conducive to the approach taken by researchers, especially in Sociology (Bridi et al. 2020).

Some researchers report that due to the greater number of live events, they were able to participate in conferences, meetings of research groups and seminars from the educational institution itself, and even with others abroad. They state that they would not have been able to attend these events if they were presented in the traditional way. Not having to face traffic and long and tiring journeys to make presentations and debates on scientific work was (and still is) an advantage, saving time and money. This is a facility that especially benefits female researchers with children or those responsible for home care, who may have difficulty in leaving the home.

Likewise, the extension of deadlines for completing research in some Universities can be regarded as a benefit introduced by the pandemic. Social distancing and quarantine were not entirely bad either. They allowed some doctoral students to enjoy a period of seclusion, essential to immersing themselves in reading and writing, and encouraging the production of texts and theses, one of the main objectives of doctorates in Sociology.

4 I CONCLUSION

I observed changes in sociological research in Brazil and Portugal during the Covid-19 pandemic period, because these are the research spaces that I have access to, where I do my doctoral research, and because I believe it is important to monitor these changes. From these observations, I note that the pandemic created more challenges than advantages for research. However, further studies on the topic are needed for more solid conclusions. Such depth of investigation will be possible when the crisis has been overcome and all the relevant data is mature. So far, I have identified some relevant points: both the obstacles and the facilities linked to the pandemic that existed before the health crisis, were exacerbated by the conditions it imposed (cf. the editorial of this issue); remote work was the main strategy used to overcome the difficulties imposed on research by the pandemic, and researchers, professors and students paid the price for its implementation in doctoral research; women were the most affected, because in this model of work they are expected to perform domestic chores, in addition to doctoral research; co-authorship, an already commonly used method for the scientific inclusion of women, served as a tool to continue the production of articles during this period in which there was a sharp drop in female scientific productivity; the challenges and advantages created by the pandemic have unevenly affected male and female researchers, national and foreign, scholarship and non-scholarship holders, Brazilians and Portuguese, and PhD students in the initial research stage and in the advanced phase of their thesis, at home and in international mobility.

Analyzing an ongoing phenomenon is always precarious, but the surveys carried out based on this monitoring are essential for research purposes. These changes are still happening and will remain in effect until mass immunizations against Covid-19 become a reality. However, some guidelines for a research agenda are already pronounced: such as the need for public education policies to face health crises in educational institutions; gender inequalities in the models adopted to solve the crisis; and the vulnerability of the international student in the health crisis context.

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